

THE STUDY OF WOMEN IN ISLAM AND THE WEST: A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Abstract

This bibliography sets out to explore the topics that Muslim women in the West reflected on and researched as they joined the institutions of higher learning and began to have an input in the creation of knowledge. It also attempts to gather the available information about the experiences of Muslim women and surveys the available literature in English on Muslim women living in the West. While Muslim women have been professionally active in many fields, the bibliography is focused primarily on the production of knowledge by professors in the humanities and the social sciences and their contribution to our understanding of the debates about the women of Islam.

Muslims in the West, whether women or men, immigrant or indigenous, secular or convert, inevitably have as part of their own histories experiences of encounters between Islam and the West that play an important part in the current processes of self-identification. Western colonization of Islamic territories accompanied by armies of Christian missionaries eager to spread the gospel justified their actions by claiming virtuous intent. They affirmed that they were on a mission to provide help and enlightenment to improve what was depicted to be an inferior and backward Islamic culture. They claimed that the conquest of Muslim nations, and the process of plundering their resources, was part of their “civilizing mission”. They focused especially on what they depicted as the “miserable status” of the Muslim women they sought to liberate: segregated, ignorant, swathed and generally mistreated.

This bibliography sets out to explore the topics that Muslim women in the West reflected on and researched as they joined the institutions of higher learning and began to have an input in the creation of knowledge. It also attempts to gather the available information about the experiences of Muslim women in the West. While

there is a significant number of highly educated, Westernized professional Muslim women in the West, who are working as architects, bureaucrats, psychologists, physicians, scientists, technicians, lawyers, engineers and in business enterprises, this bibliography is focused primarily on the production of knowledge by professors in the humanities and the social sciences and their contribution to our understanding of the debates about the women of Islam. The second part of the bibliography is concerned with surveying the available literature in English on Muslim women living in the West.

A survey of literature written by and about Muslim women in the West demonstrates that Muslim women in North America and the United Kingdom have been concerned about the prevailing diatribe and stereotypes about the religion of Islam and its teachings about the role of women. They have engaged in combating disinformation and written extensively on the topic. They have attempted to carve a place of equality and dignity for Muslim women both within the discourse among Muslims on the role of women in Islamic culture as well as a space within the Western mosaic. Their achievement is quite impressive given the fact that both European nations and areas of European settlement in the Americas and Australasia have shaped their consciousness, identity and national vision as an antithesis to a caricature of an Islam they invented and depicted in their literature, religious and political discourse, as well as cultural expressions: an Islam that is characterized as the epitome of despotism, violence and one that promotes the abuse of women.

Prior to World War II, the few texts available in the West on Islam and Muslim women were written by Orientalists, and virtually none were written by and for Muslims on how to live in the context of the West. The first available publications in English for Muslim reflection and instruction on the role of women and the family were published overseas and exported to the West, the earliest was published by the Ahmadiyyah Movement in Islam reflecting South Asian sensitivities. Later contributions came from Azharite scholars from Egypt serving mosques in the United States instructing women on appropriate Islamic roles in traditional Islamic culture. After the 1970s a large number of books on Islam were published under the aegis of the Muslim Student Association, the Islamic Society of North America, the International Institute for

Islamic Thought and the Islamic Foundation in Britain affirming the superiority of the Islamic worldview. These texts that have received world-wide distribution tend to reiterate Islamist views developed overseas as a response to what is experienced as the cultural onslaught of the West.

During the same period, a handful of Muslim women from the Arab world began to achieve public recognition as scholars and academicians. They were generally recent immigrants, educated overseas who acquired graduate degrees at American and European universities. They were predominantly secular in orientation and were dismayed at the prevailing discourse on women in Islam. Among them was Professor Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyed Marsot of the University of California at Los Angeles who explained that the religion of Islam is not responsible for determining the position of women in Muslim societies since the Qur'ān has injunctions protecting their economic rights. Rather, she argued, it was family customs and social traditions that are responsible for impeding the progress of women in Muslim societies. Another voice was that of Leila Ahmad, currently Professor of Islamic Studies at Harvard Divinity School who, while passionately criticizing Orientalist depictions of Muslim women, to the chagrin of many Muslims argued that women were better off in Arabia prior to the coming of Islam, and that it was Muslim males who created restrictions that bind Muslim women.

In the 1980s, Iranian immigrants, fleeing the Khomeini regime, began to write on women's issues from a perspective that challenged the ideology of the Islamic Republic and its policies. Their discourse was reiterated by itinerant Arab feminist lecturers teaching at American campuses such as Fatima Mernissi of Morocco and Nawal Saadawi of Egypt. They not only brought fresh insights, they validated the importance of women's input into the debate. Muslim women in the Muslim world and the diaspora became convinced that it is crucial to participate in creating Islamic knowledge to meet the demands of the 21st century. Some of the scholars following the models of the early socialist-nationalist trained academicians of the middle to late decades of the 20th century, identify themselves as Muslim, engaged in writing on women's issues in Islam in the endeavor to carry out scholarly research that is unbiased by doctrinal affirmations articulated by medieval jurists. At

times they identified themselves as modernists or progressives, or as feminists (though generally distinguishable from “Western” feminism) identifying and challenging the roles of patriarchy in Islam and working for reform both within Islam and within the secular structures.

They engaged in the study of the sources used by the male scholars to justify their ideas. In the process, some discovered that a careful scrutiny of texts deemed authoritative for centuries demonstrate male bias or are a reflection of the times in which they were written. In some cases, these women authors have identified conditions that prompted the patriarchal perspectives that distorted the egalitarian and pluralistic teachings of the divine message of the Qurʾān and the Prophetic practice and example. Thus their studies are not presented as an apologetic, a reinterpretation of the heritage of the faith in order to appease the enemies of Islam in the West; rather, their findings are presented as an attempt to recapture the essence of the faith as revealed to the Prophet Muhammad and as practiced by the fathers and mothers of the faith under his guidance. They tend to see the Qurʾān as open to reinterpretation by each generation as it engages with the context of its environment, responding to the challenges of the time. They view the Qurʾān as a revelation that is “a mercy to humanity”, rather than a fixed text that constrains human development.

Among the first pioneers in Qurʾānic reinterpretation is Pakistani American Riffat Hassan of the University of Louisville. Hassan who is also involved in efforts to change the conditions of women in Pakistan has challenged the traditional interpretations of the Qurʾān by expounding on the doctrine of God’s justice which has no room for inequality of the sexes as well as the verses that highlight the equality of men and women. Another important reinterpretation has come from African American Aminah Wadud who has an international following in Malaysia and South Africa. She has called on women to engage in rethinking the meaning of the Qurʾānic text. A third writer is Asma Barlas who has taken up the challenge of recovering the basis of sexual equality in Islam.

Islamic feminist discourse has been formulated as a response to Islamic traditionalism as well as Western norms. It represents a century of encounter with colonialism, Judeo-Christian exceptionalism and the projection into the international context of what are

perceived in the West to be universal models of womanhood as developed by the feminist movement in the United States. Several encounters have led Muslim women to the realization that the solidarity they sought with American feminists is not forthcoming either because of persistent Western racism and/or the intolerance of any deviance from the Western paradigm. The Muslim feminist discourse in the West is clearly the result of immersion in a new context influenced by liberationist discourse and by postmodernist analyses. Muslim women exercise the freedom to analyze and critique texts and traditions in ways not possible in most Muslim societies. The tendency is to posit Islamic feminism as different from "Western feminism", often with little apparent interest in seeing that Western feminism itself has evolved and transmuted into a variety of forms of expression and interpretation. In some models Western feminism is used as a kind of foil or antithesis of both Islamism and Orientalism, allowing for the creation of "new" space for Muslim women not identified with any of those.

Still others, such as Professor Amira Sonbol of Georgetown University began to rummage through the court records to understand the legal status of women in history. She and her colleagues are working on such issues as marriage contracts, labor laws, honor crimes, divorce, etc. Sonbol has argued from the records, that in many cases, the laws that were imposed by colonial powers on Muslims as part of the modernization project were adopted from European laws. Her research on court records revealed that Muslim women, far from being confined to seclusion in harems, exercised agency, managed their own businesses and initiated litigation before judges seeking justice. It was common for women to sue successfully for divorce from their husbands, an ability that has been severely constrained with modern laws. Historical example, then, becomes one road for modern legal reforms.

Other American Muslim women have opted for an expression of Islam that provides an alternative to textual or historical-critical analysis, to conservative affirmations of the perfection of Islam as a way of life and to modernist-secularist discourse. These women are advocates of one of the many expressions of Sufism or personal engagement with the divine. They find that this path liberates them from concern with doing daily battle with a society that rejects Islam on so many levels and allows them to maintain their

Islamic identity in a more quietist and personalized way. In its transcendence over the mundane, Sufism allows women to engage with the divine on a level where all creatures are equal, where one is free from the effects of stereotypical treatment, and where issues of gender equality are not given prominence of place.

The second part of the bibliography deals with the scholarly output about Muslim women in the West. It is a more recent area of research that has not received much attention. A large number of the studies look at Muslim women as objects focusing on what is different, at those who have not been assimilated into Western societies. A substantial number of the studies tend to focus on family life: mate selection, marriage, sexuality, divorce, and on issues of identity: religious, ethnic, and national. They also focus on popular issues such as culture conflict, youth, feminism and the veil. While the topics of research appear similar, one can note patterns that appear to be nation specific. For example, European studies appear to be more concerned with labor, fertility of Muslims and with racism. The scholars in the United Kingdom appear to be more concerned about issues of ethnicity, youth, education, and health service, while those in Germany write about foreigners, guest workers and moral socialization. This may be due to the fact that this is a new area of research and that graduate students are just beginning the process of exploring the new immigrants in the West. It is also true that many of the studies are solicited for conferences or books that focused on a specific topic, at times deemed of national interest.

It is clear that there is a great deal of work still to be done. There are no studies on women's religiosity, their contribution to Western societies, or their participation in public life. The most glaring lacuna is information on the Muslim women who have melted into Western societies.

I. MUSLIM WOMEN IN THE WEST

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